# Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 EURE-00 SAJ-01 BIB-01 CU-02 DHA-02 /058 W

-----171621 080113 /50

O R 171510Z FEB 77 FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1637 INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
LAMEMBASSY MOSCOW 3169
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USMISSION BERLIN
USMISSION NATO
AMCONSUL MUNICH

CONFIDENTIAL BUCHAREST 1069

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, SHUM, RO

SUBJ: ROMANIAN DISSENT (CONTINUED)

REF: BUCHAREST 973 AND 967

1. SUMMARY EMBOFF FEBRUARY 17 MET WITH TWO OF SIGNERS OF ROMANIAN DISSIDENT MANIFESTO AT EMBASSY. THEY REPORT THAT AUTHOR PAUL GOMA HAS BEEN PICKED UP BY ROMANIAN AUTHORITIES, ALTHOUGH THEY DO NOT KNOW IF HE IS BEING HELD TEMPORARILY FOR INTERROGATION OR IF SITUATION IS MORE SERIOUS. NUMBER OF SIGNATORIES ON DOCUMENT HAS RISEN TO 13, ALL OF WHOM (EXCEPT GOMA) ARE UNKNOWN TO ROMANIAN PUBLIC. ALL APPEAR CONFIDENTIAL

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TO BE UNDER SURVEILLANCE AND TELEPHONE LINES OF GOMA AND MANOLIU HAVE BEEN "OUT OF ORDER", FOLLOWING NUMEROUS TELEPHONIC REQUESTS FROM FOREIGN-BASED JOURNALISTS FOR INTERVIEWS. IN MEANTIME, CEAUSESCU HAS DELIVERED HIS MOST VIGOROUS ATTACK YET ON "TRAITORS" AND WESTERN INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHER COUNTRIES UNDER GUISE OF HELSINKI AGREEMENT. END

#### SUMMARY.

2. GOMA DETAINED. EMBOFF MET FEBRUAY 17 WITH SERGIU MANOLIU AND SERBAN STEFANESCU, TWO SIGNERS OF "OPEN LETTER" ADDRESSED TO CSCE PARTICIPANTS (TEXT SENT SEPTEL). THEY REPORTED THAT ALL SIGNERS OF MANIFESTO (NUMBER HAS RISEN TO 13) WERE UNDER CONSTANT SURVEILLANCE AND THAT TELEPHONE LINES OF GOMA AND MANOLIU WERE "OUT OF ORDER" FOLLOWING NUMEROUS CALLS OF SUPPORT FROM ABROAD. AS WELL AS MANY JOURNALISTIC REQUESTS FOR INTERVIEWS. THEY WERE PESSIMISTIC AS TO POSSIBILITY OF OBTAINING MANY MORE SIGNATORIES DUE TO POLICE PRESSURE AND INTIMIDATION. AS WELL AS WELL-KNOWN RELUCTANCE OF ROMANIAN INTELLECTUALS TO BECOME "INVOLVED". HALF AN HOUR AFTER DEPARTURE FROM EMBASSY, MANOLIU AND STEFANESCU RETURNED TO SAY THAT THEY HAD BEEN TO GOMA'S APARTMENT, BUT HAD BEEN PREVENTED FROM ENTERING BUILDING BY SECURITATE OFFICIALS. WHEN THEY ATTEMPTED TO DETERMINE IF GOMA WAS IN HIS APARTMENT BY SHOUTING AT WINDOW, THEY WERE ALSO THREATENED BY POLICE. BOTH ASSUME GOMA AND HIS WIFE HAVE BEEN ARRESTED, BUT THEY HAVE NO INDICATION OF CHARGES OR HOW LONG THEY MAY BE DETAINED.

3. OTHERS LET GO. MANOLIU AND HIS MOTHER WERE GRANTED STATELESS PASSPORTS IN EARLY FEBRUARY AND AFTER UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPTS IN OBTAINING A SWEDISH OR FRENCH VISA, ARE NOW PROMISED A VISA FOR AUSTRIA. THEY EXPECT TO LEAVE IN WEEK OR SO, IF STILL ALLOWED TO DO SO. TWO CONFIDENTIAL

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OTHER SIGNERS OF MANIFESTO, ERWIN AND EMILA GESSWEIN, BOTH MEMBERS OF BUCHAREST PHILHARMONIC, HAVE ALSO RECEIVED PERMISSION FOR THEMSELVES AND FAMILY TO LEAVE FOR GERMANY. (COMMENT: GESSWEIN IS LEADER OF THE PHILHARMONIC'S BRASS SECTION, BUT HAS REPEATEDLY BEEN DENIED PERMISSION TO TRAVEL WITH ORCHESTRA ABROAD BECAUSE OF SUSPICION THAT, BEING A SAXON, HE MIGHT DEFECT TO GERMANY.)

4. CEAUSESCU ON "TRAITORS". DURING SPEECH DELIVERED TODAY TOFRONT OF SOCIALIST UNITY CONFERENCE ON LOCAL CONTROL CEAUSESCU MADE ONE OF HIS BITTEREST ATTACKS YET AGAINST "SOME CIRCLES" IN WEST WHO IMPOSE A UNILATERAL INTERPRETATION ON HELSINKI ACCORD AND ORGANIZE "CAMPAIGNS" IN ORDER HIDE THEIR OWN PROBLEMS. CEAUSESCU NOTED RECENT "REACTIVATION" OF THESE CIRCLES WHO ATTEMPT TO RECRUIT "ROOTLESS ELEMENTS" AND FORMER MEMBERS OF OLD POLITICAL PARTIES FOR USE AGAINST HELSINKI ACCORDS. DECLARING THAT ONE

CAN ALWAYS FIND PEOPLE WHO ARE "TRAITORS" TO THEIR COUNTRY, HE SAID THAT FOREIGNERS RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS SHOULD REALIZE THEY DAMAGE THEMSELVES BY SUPPORTING SUCH MOVEMENTS. HE STRONGLY REITERATED ROMANIAN STAND AGAINST EMIGRATION, BUT MAINTAINED THAT GOR HAS AND WILL CONTINUE TO SHOW "UNDERSTANDING" ON CONDITION THAT THOSE WHO LEAVE DON'T CONDUCT PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGNS ABROAD. IN CLOSING, HE REFERRED TO THOSE WHO SPEAK AGAINST THEIR COUNTRY TO PLEASE THEIR "MASTERS" WHO PAY THEM WITH DOLLARS AND ALLOW THEM TO USE "RADIOS"...HE RECITED AN OLD ROMANIAN POEM WHICH CALLS CURSES DOWN UPON THE HEADS OF TRAITORS.

5. COMMENT: WE CONFESS TO SURPRISE THAT ROMANIANS HAVE DETAINED GOMA, IF THIS REPORT IS TRUE, PARTICULARLY SINCE HE SEEMED TO BE ATTRACTING CONFIDENTIAL

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SO LITTLE INTERNAL SUPPORT IN SPITE OF FOREIGN MEDIA
ATTENTION FOCUSED ON HIM. GIVEN PRESENCE OF AT
LEAST ONE WELL-KNOWN WESTERN JOURNALIST IN TOWN (MALCOLM BROWNE NY TIMES) AND OBVIOUS INTEREST OF SEVERAL OTHERS, GOR WOULD SEEM
TO BE RISKING SERIOUS DAMAGE TO
A PUBLIC RELATIONS IMAGE IN THE WEST WHICH IT HAS
SO PAINSTAKINGLY DEVELOPEDOVER THE YEARS IF IT
NOW ALLOWS GOMA TO BECOME A "CAUSE CELEBRE".
NEVERTHELESS, CEAUSESCU'S SPEECH (WE HAVE NOT YET
SEEN TEXT) IS CLEAR INDICATION OF HIS VISCERAL AND
EMOTIONAL REACTION TO A BLIGHT ON HIS REGIME WHICH
WILL NOT SOON DISAPPEAR.
BARNES

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## Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X

Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am Channel Indicators: n/a

**Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED** 

Concepts: MEETINGS, DISSIDENT FACTIONS, CHARTER 77

Control Number: n/a

Copy: SINGLE Sent Date: 17-Feb-1977 12:00:00 am Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am

Decaption Note: Disposition Action: RELEASED Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW

Disposition Date: 22 May 2009 Disposition Event:

Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977BUCHAR01069
Document Source: CORE

**Document Unique ID: 00** Drafter: n/a

Enclosure: n/a Executive Order: GS Errors: N/A

**Expiration:** Film Number: D770057-0226 Format: TEL

From: BUCHAREST Handling Restrictions: n/a

Image Path: ISecure: 1

Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770233/aaaabddd.tel

Line Count: 152 Litigation Code IDs: Litigation Codes:

Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

Message ID: f0d1a1c5-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc

Office: ACTION EUR

Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a

Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a Reference: 77 BUCHAREST 973

Retention: 0

Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED Review Content Flags: Review Date: 01-Feb-2005 12:00:00 am

Review Event:

Review Exemptions: n/a **Review Media Identifier:** Review Release Date: n/a Review Release Event: n/a **Review Transfer Date:** Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a

SAS ID: 3300313 Secure: OPEN Status: NATIVE

Subject: ROMANIAN DISSENT (CONTINUED)

TAGS: SHUM, RO, US, CSCE

To: STATE Type: TE

vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/f0d1a1c5-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc

Review Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009